DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 022 419 24 HE 000 039

By-Littig, Lawrence W.
A STUDY OF CERTAIN PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS. FINAL REPORT.
Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Bureau No-BR-6-8277
Grant-OEG-2-7-068277-2646
Note-47p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.96
Descriptors-ACHIEVEMENT NEED, ASPIRATION, *CAREER CHOICE, CAREER PLANNING, *COLLEGE STUDENTS, EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL, *GOAL ORIENTATION, LOWER CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS, NEGRO ATTITUDES, NEGRO EMPLOYMENT, *NEGRO STUDENTS, *OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE, OCCUPATIONS, PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Negro male college student's social class, achievement motivations, affiliation motivations (the desire for approval of others), and power motivations (the desire to control the behavior of others) all affect to some degree his choice of a traditionally open occupation (physician, lawyer, dentist, minister, social worker, teacher) or an occupation traditionally closed to Negroes (nuclear physicist, psychologist, airline pilot, engineer). To test the relationship of each of these factors to occupational goals, questionnaires were filled out in which the student estimated the job he expected to have 5 years after completing his education (his "real" aspiration), and the job he would most like to have (his "ideal" aspiration). Motivation was measured by analysis of a projective test. The subjects were 140 Negro male college students from 3 colleges, 2 of which were designated working class and 1 of which was deemed middle class. College social class was based on the predominance of students from middle class or working class family backgrounds. A white middle class control sample of 70 students was used. It was found that social class, strong achievement and power motivations dispose Negroes at working class colleges to seek jobs in traditionally closed fields, whereas middle class students tended to aspire to traditionally open occupations .

BR-6-8277
PA-24

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HE 000 039

Final Report

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A STUDY OF CERTAIN PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Washington, D.C.

June 30, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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SUMMARY

The relationships between achievement motivation, affiliation motivation, power motivation, and the aspirations of students attending middle class Negro and working class Negro colleges to occupations traditionally open and closed to Negroes were examined. Motivation was measured by means of content analysis of a projective test (the Test of Insight). Occupational aspirations were assessed by means of a questionnaire which asked the subject to state the job he expected to have five years after completing his education (his "real" aspiration) and the job he would most like to have (his "ideal" aspiration). College social class was based upon predominance of students from middle class or from working class family backgrounds. A white middle class college control sample was employed.

The hypotheses were: (1) Middle class status will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and working class status to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations. The hypothesis was supported; (2) Strong achievement motivation will be related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations and weak achievement motivation to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. This hypothesis was not supported. See hypothesis 4; (3) Strong affiliation motivation will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and avoidance of traditionally closed occupations. Evidence was presented contrary to the hypothesis. Weak affiliation motivation was related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. See hypothesis 5; (4) The effect of achievement motivation on aspiration to traditionally closed occupations will be maximal in a working class Negro college milieu. This hypothesis received some support; (5) The effect of affiliation motivation on aspiration to traditionally open occupations will be maximal in a middle class college milieu. This hypothesis was contradicted. Aspiration to traditionally open occupations among students at a middle class Negro college was related to weak affiliation motivation and strong affiliation motivation was related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations. This was tentatively interpreted as suggesting that strong affiliation motivation may predispose Negroes in a middle class milieu to seek approval of the dominant white majority by aspiring to occupations in which they will maximize interaction with the white majority.

No hypotheses were proposed for power motivation and occupational aspirations of Negroes. The variable was included in the analysis because of its apparent intrinsic interest. It was found to be strongly related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations among students in a working class Negro college milieu.

In summary, the following variables were associated with aspiration to traditionally closed occupations: the social class milieu of a working class Negro college; strong achievement motivation and strong power motivation in a working class milieu; strong affiliation motivation in a middle class social milieu.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Occupational discrimination against Negroes in America is decreasing. For generations only a few occupations were available to members of this minority group who aspired to achieve middle class status. Within recent years nondiscriminatory personnel policies have appeared among major components of American professional and industrial life with a resultant increase not only in the numbers of jobs available to Negroes but also in the variety of occupations from which to choose. In the recent past an upwardly aspiring Negro might realistically wish to become, for example, either a physician, minister, lawyer, or teacher, provided, of course, that an opportunity for appropriate education was possible. Few Negroes would have attempted to prepare themselves for careers as engineers, architects, psychologists, or airline pilots. The purpose of this study was to examine certain social and personality factors in order to try to understand their relationships to the kinds of occupational decisions Negro college students are making in the context of a job market that is changing very rapidly for them.

A review of the literature provides one with very little data on personality and its behavioral correlates among Negroes. Indeed, the paucity of empirical psychological research on the Negro is the central theme of Pettigrew's (1964) introduction to a recent issue of the Journal of Social Issues devoted to research on Negro personality. This study was undertaken in an attempt to add to that body of literature by exploring the relationships among both the real and the ideal occupational aspirations of Negro students as functions of social class, achievement motivation (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953), Affiliation motivation (Shipley and Veroff, 1952), and power motivation (Veroff, 1957). This was accomplished by making systematic comparisons with a white control sample of the relationships of these variables to aspiration to occupations which were deemed to be either traditionally open to Negroes or traditionally closed (but recently opened) to Negroes.

Background

Interest in career choice and vocational aspiration as a function of individual differences in personality has received considerable impetus from recent work on achievement motivation. Achievement motivation has been conceptualized as a disposition to gain satisfaction from successful competition with some standard of excellence of performance, for example, attaining a good grade on an examination (McClelland, et al., 1952). This conception of an achievement-related motivational disposition has been formalized by Atkinson (1957) into a model of motivated risk-taking

behavior. This model has been a major theoretical force in the development of research on vocational choice as a function of achievement-related motivation. The model is concerned with two personality types: That personality type in which the positive achievement motive is stronger than a negative motive to avoid failure; and that type in which the achievement motive is less strong than the motive to avoid failure. The two most general statements made by the model with regard to risk-taking behavior in competitive situations are that (1) when the achievement motive is stronger intermediate levels (i.e., 50%) of risk will be preferred and (2) when the achievement motive is weaker intermediate levels of risk will be avoided, this avoidance being manifested in an apparent choice of extreme risks, e.g., a choice of a very high or a very low probability of successful performance of an achievement-related task.

Following the appearance of the model two distinct but related research trends have developed, one outside the laboratory and one in the laboratory. In the latter case the implications of the model have been examined in games of skill (Atkinson, Bastian, Litwin, and Earl, 1960; Atkinson and Litwin, 1960; McClelland, 1958) and in games of chance (Atkinson, et al., 1960; Littig, 1963). Littig (1959) has reviewed the relevant research and has concluded that the model describes behavior in ego-involving activities, such as games of skill or choice of occupation, but is not applicable when elements of skill are removed as in games of chance. The research trend outside the laboratory has been to use the model to predict behavior in life situations. Atkinson and Litwin (1960) report that college students in whom the achievement motive is stronger than the motive to avoid failure work longer at a final course examination and attain higher grades than students with weak achievement motives and strong motives to avoid failure. Atkinson and O'Conner (1963) studied ~~with~~ the effects of ability grouping on the performance of sixth-grade pupils and found that homogeneous classes produced better examination performance among pupils with strong achievement motivation. This finding is taken as evidence that an intermediate probability of success, as would be assumed to be the case in a homogeneous ability group, arouses motivation to achieve to a greater extent that either a higher or a lower probability of success on examinations as would be assumed to be the case in a heterogeneous ability grouping. Smith (1964) has reported a relationship between achievement motivation and examination grades of college students. Littig (1963a), in a study of the occupational aspirations of English grammar school students, found that strong motivation to avoid failure (and, by inference, weak achievement motivation) produced a depressing effect on their occupational aspirations. When the students were divided into strong and weak motive to avoid failure groups the reported real occupational aspirations of the strong group were significantly lower than their ideal occupational aspirations and they were also lower

than the real and ideal aspirations of the weak group. These findings are consistent with the risk-taking implications of Atkinson's (1957) model.

Mahone (1960) has applied the model to the study of occupational aspirations of college students. He found that students characterized by strong achievement motivation tended to be more realistic in setting occupational goals in contrast to students with strong motivation to avoid failure when "realisitc occupational aspiration" was defined in terms of expert judges' estimations of the degree of correspondence between the abilities of the students and their stated occupational goals.

A recent study by Burnstein (1963) found that motivation to avoid failure was a strong factor in occupational aspirations. He reports that as motivation to avoid failure increased in strength, "(a) the prestige of aspired to occupations decreased, (b) willingness to settle for less satisfying and less prestigeful occupations increased, and (c) the person became more likely to perceive that occupations with extremely low probabilities of attainment were within reach." He further reports that the effects of achievement motivation were in the opposite direction.

The implications that the model has for research on occupational mobility have been studied by Crockett (1962) and by Littig and Yeracaris (1965). Both report that upward occupational mobility is positively related to strong achievement motivation and Littig and Yeracaris further report that downward occupational mobility is related to weak achievement motivation.

The general conclusion to be drawn from an examination of research on achievement-related motivation and occupational aspirations is that that it should be a discriminating variable. To the extent that a strong achievement motive predisposes the person to take intermediate risks and weak achievement motivation predisposes him to take extreme risks it is reasonable to expect that differences in occupational aspirations will exist that are systemmatically related to differences in motivation. In terms of the distinction made previously between occupations that have been open to Negroes for a number of generations (traditionally open occupations) and occupations that have only within recent years become open (traditionally closed occupations), certain motivation-related aspirational differences can be anticipated. These will be developed as hypotheses later in this chapter.

Research on affiliation motivation has been less extensive than research on achievement motivation. Even less work has been carried out on power motivation.

The affiliation motive has been defined (Shipley and Veroff, 1952) as a disposition to experience concern about the maintenance

of positive affective relationships with others. Persons who are judged to have strong affiliation motives have been described as approval seeking (Atkinson, Heyns, and Veroff, 1954) and they have been found to work hard when work explicitly led to social approval (Atkinson and Raphelson, 1956: French, 1955). Affiliation motivation is positively correlated with education level among women but not among men (Veroff, Atkinson, Feld, and Gurin, 1960). It is possible that different occupations offer different opportunities for experiencing affiliative satisfactions.

Power motivation has been defined by Veroff (1957) as a motivational disposition aroused in situations which involve concern over controlling the means of influencing the behavior of other persons. Veroff found that power motivation was correlated with argumentativeness and with attempts to convince others of the correctness of one's point of view. In a national survey (Veroff, et al., 1960) Negro males were found to give substantially higher scores on power motivation than white males although an interpretation of this finding was made difficult because of the stimulus characteristics of the instruments used to obtain the scores. Clearly occupations differ in the opportunities they offer to exercise authority over other persons. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to anticipate the existence of occupational-preference correlates of power motivation.

In addition to examining the relationships of the personality variables of achievement motive, affiliation motive, and power motive to occupational aspirations, differences in social class were also considered. Gurin and Katz (1966) have reviewed research on the relationships between social class and aspirational phenomena for both Negro and white samples. They conclude that while social class is an undoubted influence on occupational aspirations, the nature and extent of this influence is unclear, especially among members of minority groups.

Various indices have been suggested for defining social class, for example, income, education, occupation, and place of residence. For purposes of the present study, it was decided not to use any of the usual means of establishing the social class variable for the student samples that provided the data, but rather to establish the general social class status of the college in which the student was enrolled and consider the college milieu to represent the most important source of social class related group norms in the experience of the students. Briefly, this was accomplished by establishing the distributions of blue and white collar occupations of the subjects' fathers and then defining the social class milieu of the college as that which corresponds to the predominant occupational category of the fathers. Thus, a working class college was considered to be one in which the majority of students came from families in which the father was employed in a blue collar capacity.

A student attending a working class college was considered to be primariliy influenced by the working class milieu of the college regardless of the particular social class to which his father's occupation was assigned. A comparable definition was made for middle class college. This conceptualization of the social class variable is based upon reference group research and theory (See, e.g., Lambert, Libman, and Poser, 1960; Newcomb, 1958; Sherif and Sherif, 1964). The relationship between the social class status of the college a Negro student attended and his aspiration to traditionally open and traditionally closed occupations was examined.

A variety of considerations led to the decision to make the traditional open or closed quality of occupations the major dependent variable of the study. The variable had been used previously with some success (See Gurin and Katz, 1966; Littig, 1968) in the study of Negro occupational aspirations. Furthermore, it is a variable which appears to involve a major decision to be made by every Negro seeking employment in America. That decision has to do with the extent to which he wishes to spend at least his working hours in an integrated situation or wishes to work primarily in a segregated situation. With only minor exceptions, occupations which fall into the traditionally open category, for example, physician, lawyer, social worker, teacher, are ones that can be carried out in the Negro community, whereas occupations in the traditionally closed category, for example, engineer, architect, air line pilot, psychologist, require the individual to participate in the general society. This is a decision, then, which has far reaching consequences for a Negro student.

The study is concerned with the effects of social class and motivation on the decisions of Negro students to aspire to occupations which collectively have provided a basis for a Negro middle class (traditionally open occupations) or to aspire to occupations from which, becuase of racial discrimination, Negroes have been effectively barred (traditionally closed occupations). These effects will be examined in terms of the aspirations which the subjects believe themselves to be actually seeking to achieve--their real occupational aspirations. Because of the role that unreality may be expected to play in a Negro student's contemplations about his occupational goals vis-a-vis his beliefs about his own abilities and about society's willingness to allow him to enter into various components of the occupational structure, information was also obtained about the subjects' ideal, or fantasy, occupational goals. This was done in the expectation that ideal aspirations, to the degree that they are free from conventional restraints, might provide additional insights into the goals of Negro students.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this research are concerned with the effects of achievement motivation, affiliation motivation, and social class milieu, alone and as interactions, on the expressed decisions of Negro college students to seek to attain occupational goals in fields that have been traditionally open to Negroes and in fields that have been traditionally closed to Negroes. No hypotheses were developed about relationships with power motivation and this variable is treated as exploratory.

The hypotheses refer to the real occupational aspirations of Negroes. No hypotheses are advanced with regard to ideal aspirations. Hypotheses will be stated with reference to Negroes only but it should be borne in mind that the hypotheses will be evaluated by appropriate comparisons with a white sample as well as within Negro samples (See Chapter II: Method).

Social Class

Hypothesis 1: Middle class status will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and working class status will be related to traditionally closed occupations.

Hypothesis 1 is predicated on the assumption that the social class milieu of a middle class Negro college encourages intergenerational continuity in occupations among Negro students whose fathers have middle class occupations, primarily, it may be surmised, of a traditionally open nature, and a discouragement of continuity of occupation among upwardly aspiring Negro students from working class family backgrounds. In contrast, a working class Negro college would be relatively free from a middle class Negro occupational tradition and consequently, it may be assumed, provides a social class milieu compatible with occupational experimentation.

Achievement Motivation

Hypothesis 2: Strong achievement motivation will be related positively to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations and negatively to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. This hypothesis is based upon Atkinson's (1957) theory of risk taking which proposes that intermediate probabilities of success are most attractive to individuals with strong achievement motivation when these success probabilities are associated with standards of excellence by which to judge performance. It is argued here that aspiration to traditionally open and to traditionally closed occupations can be regarded as representing different attitudes toward risk taking. Other things being equal, a Negro who aspires to an occupation in an area of employment that has only recently opened to Negroes would seem to be indicating a willingness to take a somewhat

greater risk than a Negro who aspires to an occupation in a traditionally open area. The risk involved in aspiring to a traditionally closed occupation, however, is probably not an extreme one but rather a calculated one based upon knowledge of what is required in the way of preparation, the intensity of recruitment of Negroes into the occupational category, and at least some information about the extent to which other Negroes have recently experienced success or failure, acceptance or rejection, in that occupation. It is argued, therefore, that traditionally closed occupations involve calculated risks and are consequently attractive to Negroes with strong achievement motivation, whereas traditionally open occupations represent a low level of risk and are, therefore, less attractive to Negroes with strong achievement motivation.

Affiliation Motivation

Hypothesis 3: Strong affiliation motivation will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and avoidance of traditionally closed occupations. Traditionally open occupations, by virtue of the fact that they have been traditionally open to Negroes, are occupations in which is is possible to maintain professional and business relationships primarily with other Negroes and, therefore, to maintain strong positive affective ties. Traditionally closed occupations, in contrast, necessarily are ones in which a Negro, as social innovator, may not anticipate warm personal relationships. Hence, it is argued that Negroes with strong needs for positive affiliative responses from others will choose to enhance the possibility of receiving these by seeking occupations in which they will maintain a high level of interaction with the Negro community

Social Class and Motivation

Hypothesis 4: The effect of achievement motivation on aspiration to traditionally closed occupations will be maximal among Negroes in a working class college milieu. This hypothesis is a statement of the summation of forces described in hypotheses 1 and 2.

Hypothesis 5: The effect of affiliation motivation on aspiration to traditionally open occupations will be maximal among Negroes in a middle class college milieu. This hypothesis is a statement of the summation of forces described in hypotheses 1 and 3.

No hypotheses were developed about power motivation and aspirations of Negroes to traditionally open or closed occupations. On the one hand it might be argued that a need to control the means of influencing others might lead a Negro college student

to aspire to high status open occupations which would increase his possibilities of claiming a position of authority in the Negro community. On the other hand, one might argue that a Negro with a strong power motive would aspire to traditionally closed occupations because these represent more direct avenues to a broader and more meaningful kind of social power.

Power motivation was included in the study because of its intrinsic interest and because of the extensiveness of the rhetoric of power among Negro students.

CHAPTER II
METHOD

Subjects

The subjects of this research were 140 American born male Negro college students and a control sample of 70 American born male white college students. They were selected from initial samples of 189 Negro and 100 white subjects on the basis of (1) completed test instruments and (2) random assignment (Winer, 1962) to achieve equal numbers of subjects in the three college samples (Negro middle class, Negro working class, white working class) upon which analyses are based.

Negro Subjects. Samples of Negro subjects were obtained from three predominantly Negro colleges. On the basis of a classification of the occupations of the fathers of the students in the three samples, one college, from which an initial sample of 100 had been obtained, was designated Middle Class Negro, and two colleges, from which initial samples of 58 and 23 were obtained, were designated Working Class Negro.[1] Table 1 presents the distributions of fathers occupations by social class assigned to the college for the 140 Negro subjects upon whom the statistical analyses are based. The Working Class Negro group of 70 subjects is an amalgamated 47 and 23 subjects from the larger and smaller working class colleges sampled. The distributions of fathers' occupations were not significantly different for the subjects presented in Table 1 than for those in the original samples.

White Subjects. The white control sample was obtained from a state university in the same general geographic region as the three Negro institutions. On the basis of the distribution of fathers' occupations this university was assigned to the category of Middle Class White. The distribution of fathers' occupations for the 70 subjects comprising the white control group appears in Table 1. It is not significantly different from the distribution of occupations for the initial sample of 100 white students.

The Middle Class White sample and the Middle Class Negro samples are not significantly different with regard to the distributions of father's occupation ($X^2 = .78$, $df = 1$, p = n.s.); each differs significantly from the Working Class Negro sample ($X^2 = 17.86$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$; $X^2 = 11.47$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$ respectively).

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[1]Social class assignment of father's occupation was based upon the occupational classification developed for the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (1965). Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, and sales were considered middle class. All other occupations, except excluded farm occupations, were considered working class.

Table 1

Predominant Social Class Status of Colleges From Occupational Class of Subject's Father

Father's Occupation	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Negro		Working Class Negro	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Middle Class	48	69	43	61	23	33
Working Class	22	31	27	39	47	67
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100

$x^2(2\underline{df}) = 20.15$, $\underline{p} < .001$

Instruments

Achievement, affiliation, and power motives were assessed by means of content analysis (Smith and Feld, 1958) of the Test of Insight (French, 1958). The Test of Insight is a self-reporting, group administered projective device that asks the subject to respond, in writing, to 10 items, such as "Bill always lets the other fellow win," by reporting what the person is like, what he wants to have or do, and what the results of his behavior are apt to be.[2] These reports are systemmatically analyzed for the three motives in terms of the dominant nature of the subjects projections. Occupational aspirations were obtained from subjects' responses to two items on the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students (Littig, 1966): (1) Five years after completing your education what job do you plan to have? (2) What job would you most like to have five years after completing your education if it were possible for you to have any job in the world? The first question defined the subject's real aspiration and the second question his ideal aspiration.

The Test of Insight and the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students are reproduced in Appendix I.

Procedure

The Test of Insight and the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of University Students were adiminstered, in that order, to the subjects at scheduled times in classrooms of their schools. The Tests of Insight were subsequently coded for the three motives by expert coders who had previously shown evidence of high intercoder reliability. Subjects were dichotomized at the median score of their college group, or as close to the median as distributions made feasible, for each motive into high and low motive groups. The median scores for achievment motivation, for the Middle Class White, the Middle Class Negro, and the Working Class Negro samples were, respectively, 0, 0, and 0. For affiliation motivation they were 6.5, 5.5, and 4.5 respectively and for power motivation they were 3.5, 2.5, and 2.5. Numbers of subjects for each sample classified as high and low are presented in Table 2.

The real and ideal occupational aspirations of subjects were classified as traditionally open to Negroes or traditionally closed

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[2]The Test of Insight was selected to generate data for the assessment of motives because it does not rely upon pictorial cues as does the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the more usual device for eliciting projective material for these motives. Thus the problem of distortions in imagery produced in Negro subjects in response to TAT pictures showing whites is avoided. For a discussion of this problem see Veroff, et al., 1960.

Table 2

Numbers of Subjects Classified as High and Low in Achievement, Affiliation, and Power Motivation for Each College Sample

Class of College	Motivation					
	Achievement		Affiliation		Power	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Middle White	41	29	35	35	32	38
Middle Negro	36	34	33	37	36	34
Working Negro	25	45	31	39	31	39

to Negroes by the principle investigator. The essential criterion for inclusion of an occupation in the traditionally open category was that the occupation was one that had supplied significant numbers of Negroes with employment for at least one generation.[3] A check on the classification of occupations into the two categories by a Negro classifer produced an interclassifier reliability of beyond 98 per cent.

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[3] The traditionally open category included occupations such as physician, lawyer, dentist, minister, social worker, teacher; the traditionally closed category is illustrated by occupations such as nuclear physicist, psychologist, airline pilot, engineer.

CHAPTER III
RESULTS

The findings of the study will be presented under headings appropriate to the several hypotheses. Before considering these, however, certain characteristics of the samples will be described.

Motivation Scores

Intercorrelations of Scores

Rank order correlations were done within each college class sample between the three possible pairs of motives: achievement-affiliation; achievement-power; affiliation-power. These correlations are presented in Table 3. Only the correlation of +.30 between achievement motivation and affiliation motivation within the Middle Class Negro sample was statistically significant. The average correlation was +.09 and the scores are considered to be reasonably independent.

Differences in Motivation Scores among the Three Samples

Table 4 presents the mean motive scores for subjects from the three college samples. There are significant differences among colleges over all motive scores, the Working Class Negro sample consistently gave the lowest scores. There is also a significant difference among motives without regard to college sample. No interaction is present. The highest score was obtained for affiliation motivation, then achievement and power motivation in that order. It islikely that these differences have little psychological significance. The differencesamong college samples most possibly represent, because of the written nature of the task from which the motivation scores were derived and the less adequate training in written expression received by the Negro subjects in the Working Class Negro college, an artifact of the test instrument rather than a true difference in magnitude of motivation among the college samples. The order of motives is interesting although it would be improper to infer true differences among motives because of lack of information about the comparability of the scales. It does suggest that the emphasis that appears to be placed upon the importance of interpersonal relationships by students today may actually have a personality basis in the relatively strong affiliation motivation that these data, based upon rather diverse samples, indicate that college students might have.

Table 3

Intercorrelations of Motivation Scores

Rank Order Correlation Between	Predominant Class Status Assigned College		
	Middle Class White	Middle Class Negro	Working Class Negro
Achievement-Affiliation	+.10	+.30*	-.05
Achievement-Power	-.07	+.23	+.16
Affiliation-Power	-.03	+.22	-.01

*$p < .05$

Table 4

Mean Motive Scores for Subjects from White Middle Class, Negro Middle Class, and Negro Working Class Colleges

Class of College	N	Motive			All Ss
		Achievement	Affiliation	Power	
Middle White	70	3.33	6.13	2.60	4.02
Middle Negro	70	2.96	5.44	2.03	3.48
Working Negro	70	2.53	4.71	1.11	2.79
All Ss	210	2.94	5.43	1.91	3.43

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MS	F
Between Ss	209		
College (C)	2	80.24	8.66*
Error	207	9.24	
Within			
Motive (M)	2	686.03	95.95*
C X M	4	2.65	--
Error	414	7.15	

*$p < .01$

Age and Academic Class Distributions Among the Three College Samples

Age

The mean ages of the subjects in the three samples are: Middle Class White, 19.94; Middle Class Negro, 21.61; Working Class Negro, 21.51. The average age of the middle Class White sample is approximately 1.5 years less than either Negro sample. This difference is statistically significant ($F = 13.70$, $df = 2$ and 207, $p < .01$).

Class Standing

The distributions of subjects by college class standing is presented in Table 5. The differences among the three college samples are not statistically significant with the larger proportion for each sample being from the freshman and sophomore classes.

The samples may be considered to be relatively homogeneous for college class standing but differing somewhat in age. The somewhat older ages of the Negro students does not seem to be critical for the purposes of this research.

Educational Goals

Graduate Education

The subjects were asked if they planned to attend graduate school. There responses are presented in Table 6. A surprisingly higher proportion of Negro students than white students aspired to graduate education. This was especially true of the students from the Middle Class Negro college.

Summary: Characteristics of the Samples

The compositions of the samples of students appear to be reasonably similar with regard to distribution of class standing and age, and distribution of motivation scores. They differ rather strikingly in their educational aspirations with students from both the Negro Middle Class and the Negro Working Class colleges indicating a more frequent desire to go on for graduate work. Because it is unlikely that a major proportion of those Negro students who aspire to graduate education will actually go on to advanced degrees, certain caution is suggested in interpreting too closely the occupational goals upon which the major portion of this analysis is based. If the educational aspirations of the Negro students are somewhat unrealistic then perhaps their occupational goals are as well. The jobs to which they indicate they aspire may not be the jobs they will eventually

Table 5

Distribution of Subjects by Academic Class

Academic Class	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Negro		Working Class Negro	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Freshman	25	36	16	23	18	26
Sophomore	31	44	25	36	24	34
Junior	8	11	15	21	14	20
Senior	6	9	14	20	14	20
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100

$X^2 = 9.44$, $\underline{df} = 6$, $\underline{p}$ = n.s.

Table 6

Aspiration to Graduate Education by Type of College

Graduate Education	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Negro		Working Class Negro	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	45	64	66	94	57	81
No	25	36	4	6	13	19
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100

$X^2 = 7.93$, $df = 2$, $p < .02$

go into.

With this cautionary note in mind the hypotheses may now be considered.

The Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Social Class.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that Negro students attending a predominantly middle class Negro college would aspire to occupations traditionally open to Negroes whereas Negro students attending a predominantly working class Negro college would aspire to occupations that traditionally have been closed to Negroes.

Table 7 presents the distributions of occupational aspirations for each of the three samples.[1] Hypothesis 1 receives some support. The Middle Class Negro sample aspires more frequently to open occupations and the Working Class Negro sample to more closed occupations. This difference approaches statistical significance ($X^2 = 2.34$, $df = 1$, $p = .07$; one-tailed test). The overall difference among the three samples is statistically significant for real occupational aspirations but not for ideal occupational aspirations as a result of a shift among both Negro samples in the direction of aspiration to more closed occupations. Two inferences seem to be warranted: (1) Occupational conservatism is associated with a Middle Class Negro college milieu; (2) Under conditions which reduce the occupation-related restraints of this milieu (i.e., the fantasy condition of ideal occupational aspiration) subjects give evidence of a latent preference for closed occupations.[2]

It is concluded that the social environment of a Middle Class Negro college encourages and supports an occupational conservatism, especially when an actual occupational goal is being considered. The absence of a strong middle class social norm, which is assumed to be the case among students at a Working Class Negro college, appears to be related to experimentation and to rejection of occu-

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[1]Because the distinction between open and closed occupations has no psychological meaning for white subjects, there is no basis for expecting a relationship within the group. White subjects, however, indicate a preference for occupations held to be closed to Negroes and this finding is consistent with that construct. The closed-to-Negroes occupations are the ones preferred by the white majority.

[2]A similar shift occurs among the subjects in the Negro Working Class college sample but it does not change the nature of the distribution of aspirations.

Table 7

College Class Status and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

College Class Status	Aspiration			
	Real		Ideal	
	Open	Closed	Open	Closed
Middle White	21	49	20	50
Middle Negro	36	34	32	38
Working Negro	27	43	21	49
	$X^2_{real} = 6.79$		$X^2_{ideal} = 5.59$	
	$\underline{df} = 2$		$\underline{df} = 2$	
	$\underline{p} < .05$		$\underline{p} < .10$	

pations which, collectively, have provided the basis for a Negro middle class in America.

Hypothesis 2: Achievement Motivation

Hypothesis 2 predicted that strong achievement motivation would be related positively to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations and weak achievement motivation would be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. This hypothesis was based upon Atkinson's model of motivated risk taking which states that intermediate risks are preferred by individuals with strong achievement motives (Atkinson, 1957). It was argued that traditionally closed occupations were ones which could be considered to be associated with intermediate risk or, in McClelland's (1961) term, calculated risk.[3]

Hypothesis 2 is not supported (Table 8). There are no trends among the Negro samples, taken together, to suggest that achievement motivation has an overall effect on either the real or the ideal occupational aspirations of the Negro subjects.

Hypothesis 3: Affiliation Motivation

Hypothesis 3 predicted that Negroes with strong affiliation motivation would aspire to traditionally open occupations in contrast to Negroes with weak affiliation motivation. Results relevant to hypothesis 3 are presented in Table 9. The only group not to indicate a greater preference for occupations traditionally closed to Negroes is the low affiliation group, real aspiration. Not only is the hypothesis not supported but the trend appears to be in the opposite direction from that predicted. A comparison of the low affiliation motivation Negro subjects with all white subjects is statistically significant for real ($X^2 = 6.05$, $df = 1$, $p < .02$) but not for ideal ($X^2 = 3.47$, $df = 1$, $p < .10$) occupational aspirations. High affiliation motivation Negro subjects do not differ from white subjects for either real ($X^2 = 1.22$, $df = 1$, $p < .30$) or ideal ($X^2 = .02$, $df = 1$, p = n.s.) aspirations.

It is concluded, contrary to expectation, that there is some evidence that weak affiliation motivation is related to occupational conservatism among Negroes.

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[3]Another approach to testing this hypothesis would have been to estimate each subject's chances of achieving his occupational goal in terms of his past academic performance such as Mahone (1960) did in his study of realistic and unrealistic occupational aspirations. This possibility was precluded because of the lack of availability of necessary records for the Middle Class White and the Working Class Negro samples.

Table 8

Achievement Motivation and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

Race	Ach Mot	Aspiration: Real — Open	Aspiration: Real — Closed	Aspiration: Ideal — Open	Aspiration: Ideal — Closed
White	High	11	30	14	27
	Low	10	19	6	23
Negro	High	26	35	21	40
	Low	37	42	33	46
		$X^2_{real} = 5.04$		$X^2_{ideal} = 4.21$	
		$\underline{df} = 3$		$\underline{df} = 3$	
		$\underline{p} < .20$		$\underline{p} < .30$	

Note.--The Negro group is composed of the Middle Class Negro and the Working Class Negro samples combined.

Table 9

Affiliation Motivation and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

Race	Aff Mot	Aspiration: Real — Open	Aspiration: Real — Closed	Aspiration: Ideal — Open	Aspiration: Ideal — Closed
White	High	10	25	14	21
	Low	11	24	6	29
Negro	High	25	39	20	44
	Low	38	38	33	43
		$X^2_{real} = 5.70$		$X^2_{ideal} = 8.08$	
		$\underline{df} = 3$		$\underline{df} = 3$	
		$\underline{p} < .20$		$\underline{p} < .05$	

Note.--The Negro group is composed of the Middle Class Negro and the Working Class Negro samples combined.

The significant interaction between race and motivation for ideal occupations (Table 9) is related to the small number of low affiliation motivation white subjects indicating aspiration to occupations open to Negroes. This does suggest that many of the occupations in that category may be generally unattractive to persons with low affiliation motivation.

Hypothesis 4: Social Class and Achievement Motivation

Hypothesis 4 predicted an interaction between achievement motivation and social class milieu. It was argued that the relationship between strong achievement motivation and aspiration to traditionally open occupations would be most pronounced among students attending a working class Negro college. Data relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 10. No overall statistically significant difference is present among the three social class samples and the hypothesized interaction is not directly supported. Some less direct evidence consistent with the hypothesis is available, however. First, among the Negro samples the highest proportion of subjects aspiring to traditionally open occupations is associated with the high achievement motivation Working Class Negro group and the lowest proportion with the low achievement motivation Middle Class Negro group. The proportions are: Working Class Negro, high achievement motivation, 64 per cent; Working Class Negro, low achievement motivation, 60 per cent; Middle Class Negro, high achievement motivation, 52 per cent; Middle Class Negro, low achievement motivation, 44 per cent.

A second source of evidence lending support to the hypothesis comes from a comparison of the high achievement motivation Working Class Negro group with the low achievement motivation Middle Class Negro group. These are the groups which, according to the hypothesis, may be expected to have the highest and the lowest frequencies of aspirations to traditionally closed occupations respectively. When real aspirations are compared the difference between them is statistically significant ($X^2 = 3.67$, $df = 1$, $p < .03$, one-tailed test).

It is concluded that some support is present for the hypothesized interaction between social class milieu, achievement motivation, and Negro aspiration to traditionally open and closed occupations.

Hypothesis 5: Social Class and Affiliation Motivation

Hypothesis 5 predicted that aspiration to traditionally open occupations would be most frequent among high affiliation motivation Middle Class Negro subjects and lowest among low affiliation motivation Working Class Negro subjects. This was decidedly not the case (Table 11). The only group of subjects to aspire with greater frequency to traditionally open occupations was the low affiliation motivation Middle Class Negro group. The difference between this group and all other Negro subjects combined is statistically significant for

Table 10

College Class Status, Achievement Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

College Class Status	Ach Mot	Aspiration			
		Real		Ideal	
		Open	Closed	Open	Closed
Middle White	High	11	30	14	27
	Low	10	19	6	23
Middle Negro	High	17	19	14	22
	Low	19	15	18	16
Working Negro	High	9	16	7	18
	Low	18	27	15	30
		$X^2_{real} = 7.85$		$X^2_{ideal} = 8.24$	
		$\underline{df} = 5$		$\underline{df} = 5$	
		$\underline{p} < .20$		$\underline{p} < .20$	

Table 11

College Class Status, Affiliation Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

College Class Status	Aff Mot	Aspiration: Real — Open	Aspiration: Real — Closed	Aspiration: Ideal — Open	Aspiration: Ideal — Closed
Middle White	High	10	25	14	21
	Low	11	24	6	29
Middle Negro	High	14	19	13	20
	Low	22	15	19	18
Working Negro	High	11	20	7	24
	Low	16	23	14	25
		$X^2_{real} = 9.17$		$X^2_{ideal} = 12.08$	
		$df = 5$		$df = 5$	
		$p < .20$		$p < .05$	

both real ($X^2 = 4.25$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, two-tailed test) and for ideal ($X^2 = 3.89$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, two-tailed test) aspirations. Contrary to expectation, then, the psychological component of the traditional occupational orientation of Negro students at a Middle Class Negro college would seem to be weak affiliation motivation. One possible interpretation of this finding is that Negroes with strong affiliation motivation aspire to traditionally closed occupations in order to gain approval of the white dominant majority.[4]

Power Motivation

Power motivation, a motivational disposition to be concerned with controlling the means of influencing other persons, is the final independent variable to be considered. No hypotheses were developed about the relationship of power motivation to occupational aspirations or about its interaction with social class of college. It was included in the analysis because it appeared to be an intrinsicly interesting variable for a study designed to try to under- some of the factors contributing to the occupational aspirations of Negro college students.

Table 12 compares all Negro subjects with white subjects. The interaction between race and power motivation is significant for real but not for ideal aspirations. The important relationships are that high power motivation Negro students aspire to traditionally closed occupations and low power motivation Negro students tend to aspire to open occupations when real aspirations are considered. When ideal aspirations are considered no significant differences exist between high and low power motivation Negro occupational aspirations.

Table 13, which examines the relationship of power motivation to Negro occupational aspirations within each social class milieu, indicates that the positive correlation between high power motivation and Negro aspiration to traditionally closed occupations is a characteristic of the high power motivation Working Class Negro group only for real aspirations and that there is a nearly statistically significant shift from real to ideal aspirations for low power motivation Negroes in a working class social milieu. ($X^2 = 3.34$, $df = 1$, $p = .07$). Power motivation would appear to be the psychological factor underlying the trend toward aspiration to traditionally closed real occupations among Negro students at a Working Class Negro college. Their is some indication that there are restraints which keep a Negro Working Class college student with low power motivation from

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[4]Recent evidence suggests that a strong component of affiliation motivation is a need for approval by others. This is consistent with the present interpretation. Personal communication, J. W. Atkinson.

Table 12

Power Motivation and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

Race	Pow Mot	Aspiration: Real — Open	Aspiration: Real — Closed	Aspiration: Ideal — Open	Aspiration: Ideal — Closed
White	High	12	20	9	23
	Low	9	29	11	27
Negro	High	24	43	23	44
	Low	39	34	30	43
		$X^2_{real} = 10.27$		$X^2_{ideal} = 2.48$	
		$\underline{df} = 3$		$\underline{df} = 3$	
		$\underline{p} < .02$		$\underline{p}$ = n.s.	

Note.--The Negro group is composed of the Middle Class Negro and the Working Class Negro samples combined.

Table 13

College Class Status, Power Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Negroes

College Class Status	Pow Mot	Aspiration: Real — Open	Aspiration: Real — Closed	Aspiration: Ideal — Open	Aspiration: Ideal — Closed
Middle White	High	12	20	9	23
	Low	9	29	11	27
Middle Negro	High	18	18	15	21
	Low	18	16	17	17
Working Negro	High	6	25	8	23
	Low	21	18	13	26
		$X^2_{real} = 16.79$		$X^2_{ideal} = 6.41$	
		$df = 5$		$df = 5$	
		$p < .01$		$p < .30$	

aspiring to closed real occupations and that these restraints are lifted under the fantasy condition of indicating one's ideal occupational aspiration. Put differently, a strong power motive appears to be necessary before a Negro student in a working class milieu will indicate that he really is aspiring to a traditionally closed occupation.

This result, exploratory as it is, is one of the firmest findings and perhaps it is the most significant finding of the study.

Summary: Results

The following variables were associated with the aspiration of Negro students to occupations traditionally closed to Negroes: the social class milieu of a Working Class Negro college; strong achievement motivation or strong power motivation in a working class social milieu; strong affiliation motivation in a middle class social milieu.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

This study was designed and conducted as a basic exploration of the possibility that personality has differential effects upon the occupational aspirations of Negro college students as a consequence of the social class milieu in which the students were living at the time the data were collected. No policy recommendations will or should be made. The basic findings will be summarized and a suggestion will be made for further research.

A reasonably clear distinction was observed between the frequencies of aspiration to occupations deemed to be traditionally open or traditionally closed to Negroes among students attending a predominantly middle class Negro college and students attending predominantly working class Negro colleges. Negro students at the former tended to aspire to traditionally open occupations whereas students at the latter tended to aspire to traditionally closed occupations. The personality variables of achievement motivation, affiliation motivation, and power motivation were related to these patterns of occupational aspiration. Middle class occupational conservatism was associated with weak affiliation motivation while strong affiliation motivation was associated with occupational liberalism, i.e., aspiration to traditionally closed occupations, among the middle class Negro group. Both achievement motivation and power motivation demonstrated a correlation with aspiration to traditionally closed occupations among the Working Class Negro group. Strong achievement motivation was moderately related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations in this group and strong power motivation was highly related to traditionally closed occupational aspirations in this group. All relationships tended to be greater for real occupations than for ideal occupations.

The general conclusions are that strong affiliation motivation predisposes Negroes in middle class circumstances to aspire to traditionally closed occupations and strong achievement motivation or strong power motivation, but especially the latter, predispose Negroes in working class circumstances to aspire to traditionally closed occupations.

On the basis of these findings it is recommended that further research be carried out on Negro subjects from a variety of social and economic circumstances with special attention being given to the effects of individual differences in affiliation motivation and power motivation on aspirations to traditionally open and closed occupations. To the extent that an understanding can be developed of the social and personality factors involved in the aspiration of Negroes to traditionally closed occupations, an insight into the integration of occupations will be acquired.

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APPENDIX I

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Department of Psychology

TEST OF INSIGHT

This is a test of your understanding of the reasons why people behave as they do. You will be given a characteristic behavior of each of a number of men. Your task is to explain why each man behaves as he does. Read each description and then decide what you think would be the reason why a man does what this man does. Decide what this person is like, what he wants to have or do, and what the results of his behavior are apt to be. If you think of more than one explanation give only the one you think is most likely. Write your answers in the spaces provided.

Name_____
(For research purposes only)

1. Bill always lets the "other fellow" win.

2. Ed feels upset if he hears that anyone is criticizing or blaming him.

3. Fred enjoys organizing groups and committees.

4. Joe is always willing to listen.

5. Frank would rather follow than lead.

6. Tom never joins clubs or social groups.

7. John's friends can always depend on him for a loan.

8. Don is always trying something new.

9. George said, "They probably won't ask me to go with them."

10. Pete said, "I'm pretty sure I can do it."

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

QUESTIONNAIRE ON VOCATIONAL GOALS OF STUDENTS

Your cooperation is being asked in a study of the kinds of occupations students look forward to achieving upon leaving. Your answers to these questions will be kept strictly confidential and will not be made available to any school officials. We are asking for this information for research purposes only.

1. Name_____

2. Class: Freshman_____Sophomore_____Junior_____Senior_____

3. Birthdate: Year_____Month_____Day_____

4. Major field_____

5. Year you expect to graduate_____

6. Do you plan to go on to graduate or professional school?

   Yes____ No____

   (If yes) What degree do you plan to study for?_____

7. <u>One year</u> after completing your education, what job do you plan to have. Please be specific.

   _____

8. <u>Five years</u> after completing your education, what job do you plan to have? Please be specific.

   _____

9. On the line below please place a mark (X) at the point which best indicates what you think your chances are of having that job <u>five</u> years from now

Absolutely certain I will have it 100% chance	a 50% chance I will have it.	Absolutely certain I will not have it. 0% chance

10. How much effort do you feel you are putting into achieving the job you plan to have five years from now? Place a mark on the line.

A very great effort	Midpoint	No effort at all

11. If it were possible for you to have <u>any</u> job in the world, what job would you choose one year after completing your education? (Note: this could be the job you expect to have or any other job. What we would like to know is what your "dream job" is. Please be specific.

_____

12. What job would you most like to have <u>five years</u> after completing your education if it were possible for you to have any job in the world?

_____

13. One the line below please put a mark (X) at the point which best indicates what you think your chances are of having your "dream job" five years from now.

Absolutely certain I will have it 100% chance	a 50% chance I will have it	Absolutely certain I will not have it 0% chance

14. How much effort do you feel you are putting into achieving your "dream job" five years from now? Place a mark on the line.

A very great effort	Midpoint	No effort at all

15. What would you say is the most important factor which would prevent you from achieving your "dream job?"

_____

16. What do you expect your annual income will be during your <u>first</u> year after completing your education?

_____

17. What do you expect your annual income to be during your <u>fifth</u> year after completing your education?

_____

18. What is your father's occupation? Please be specific, describe what he does if necessary. (If deceased, what did he do?)

_____

19. What was your father's highest level of academic achievement? (Please circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Some college College graduate Post-graduate and prefessional

20. What is your mother's occupation? Please be specific. (If deceased, what did she do?)

_____

21. What was your mother's highest level of academic achievement? (Please circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Some college College graduate Post-graduate and professional

22. What is your parent's annual income?

_____

23. What is your hometown?

City_____State (or foreign country)_____

24. What is your grade point average?_____(Guess if necessary)

25. Which of the following terms best describes your family (Please check)

Upper class_____
Middle class_____
Working Class____
Lower class_____

26. Are your parents married_____separated_____divorced_____

Other_____?
(explain)